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But more discouraging than any of these things is the growing spread of hatred and of reprisal generating among both belligerents. We are just beginning to learn the full significance of the Paris Conference in June last. If the governments uphold the recommendations of this conference, there will continue, even after the war, a relentless campaign against the commercial interests of the Central Powers. From the reports of this conference we gather that the vindictive spirit of revenge shall be aimed even at the German arts and sciences. The importance of this attitude is so serious, not only for the present but for the long future, that we are running elsewhere in these pages the terms of the proposed agreement to take effect at the close of the present war. The point here is that such a program not only postpones the end of the present war, but hastens the coming of the next.

DARKNESS BEFORE THE DAWN

UNTIL comparatively recent generations wars were waged against combatants and non-combatants indiscriminately. This was notably the case in the wars of the European Middle Ages, illustrated by the wholesale Albigenian slaughters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unrestricted license was allowed to the soldiers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries, both as regards property and women. The horrors of the Thirty Years' War, ending with the treaty of Westphalia of 1648, were thought, however, to have brought about a change, especially toward non-combatants. The eighteenth century wars seemed on the whole less cruel toward and destructive of non-combatants than those of the preceding century, while the wars of the nineteenth century seemed to show a still greater improvement. The Franco-German war seemed less ferocious toward civil populations than the Napoleonic wars. In 1899 twenty-six nations aimed collectively and officially to confine all war to regular and controlled forces, in the interest not only of non-combatants, but of a higher humanity.

The present war presents many evidences of a return to the practices of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The principle of *Schrecklichkeit*, of terrorizing the civil population, has been revived. Private property and non-combatant persons have been ruthlessly destroyed. Viscount Bryce says flatly that "Outrages upon women have been far more numerous than in any war between civilized nations during the last hundred years." Wholesale murders, in the name of "hostages," of innocent non-combatants because of the offenses of indiscoverable "snipers," have been frequent.

It is discouraging, of course, that we have been unable to regulate or mitigate this oldest, this most ancient of curses, war. It is all but an illustration of

the principle for which we have long contended, namely, that it is impossible to draft laws of war. We do not draft laws of burglary, of arson, or of murder. We legislate against them.

We shall emerge from this war into a new world, and in that new world men will aim to make a better job of it than they have made of it heretofore. The old methods have led back to the gulfs of barbarism. What we called science, education, culture, religion, civilization, humanity, have proved to be puerile and ineffective. The world has tumbled in one direction, and to one end only, namely, Hell.

In the new world, at the peace, there will be one dominant aim, namely, the reconstruction of society for the purpose of overcoming the ravages of the past. Men of vision will wish to refashion the world into one freed from unreasonable and unreasoning passions. They will turn the searchlight of analytical thinking upon the ancient wrongs perpetrated in the congress of Vienna, in the congress of Berlin, in the various partitions in Poland, Denmark, France, and the Balkans. They will strive as never before to overcome the bootless tyrannies, the dynastic ambitions, and the fetish of "divine rights" backed by the feudal might of militarism. The present sacrifice can serve no purpose save the end that such a sacrifice may not again be necessary. Hence, there will be a demand for a new world society, a new dispensation. This dispensation must necessarily take the direction of a finer democracy, of a world in which it will be possible to live tolerably and with that creative purpose without which there is no real life.

To these ends the cultivation of revenge as a national policy, the formulation of "laws of war," will be seen to be bad business. It will not do to reconstruct the world again in the interest of a commerce subservient only to political chicanery, to set up financial systems for the sole purpose of exploiting the credit of other peoples. The aim must be toward a more intelligent mutual understanding, the interchange of ideas, and the cultivation of rational relations, sympathies, and hopes. The wars of the future must be wars not of brawn, but of brains, and there will be ample opportunity for the exercise of mind. To reform the methods of trade, to democratize finance, to break down anti-social monopolies, to harmonize capital and labor, to enlarge the productivity of the nation, to facilitate transportation and other forms of exchange, to base governments upon constructive business principles, these constitute no small task. But they constitute the task that will face the world at the close of this war. The task will be accomplished by us in America, if it be accomplished, in the direction of a greater freedom and a profounder justice for all within as well as for those without.